2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585 very thin wheaten pancakes was brought and presented to them. The bridegroom broke a piece of bread and, before eating, ceremonially touched with it his lips and forehead. The gesture was not unlike that with which a devout Roman Catholic crosses himself before meat. The bride followed suit, and then
• [292] retired again to her corner now unscreened. She was dressed in red silk and wore a pair of red-dyed soft leather boots; a tinsel scarf shot with gold and orange had been flung over her cap.

The ceremony was now complete, so we said good-bye to our host and hostess, thanking them most warmly for having allowed strangers to come, and pressing into their hands a modest gift of silver for the young husband and a bundle of embroidery silks wrapped in silver paper for the bride. With all-round greetings and best wishes we then withdrew, winning a special smile from the bride, leaving the two families to get down unembarrassed to their feast.

The silken handkerchief which covers the ceremonial drinking-cup is one of the perquisites of the khalifa, and we heard that—having no use for it himself—he usually trades it off to the next clients who summon him for a betrothal, and so it goes the rounds.

It had for a time looked as if we should altogether fail to witness a betrothal, but the ice having now been broken, we were honoured by several further invitations. We accepted one other in which the bridegroom was a relative of Qudrat Ullah's. It more or less duplicated the first; the khalifa recited somewhat less well, and the whole proceedings seemed to us a trifle less well organized. When the milk-money discussion was proceeding Qudrat Ullah suddenly broke in: "Oh, cut the cackle, and get down to five rupees at once!" The suggestion was duly acted on amid much laughter. The fictitious figure first quoted is a compliment to the bride, and in Nagir it is the custom, we were told, to start at thousands of imaginary rupees. This second bride was unusually plain, poor girl—scarcely worth 7s. 6d. at prevailing rates, we thought.

Dayid was pressed to take photographs, which he duly tried to do. It was no easy task in a smoke-darkened, crowded room,

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

585 Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners. The sensible plan prevails of having all weddings celebrated on the same day throughout the country. This avoids all cross-entertaining and much reduces expense. The hungriest guest cannot attend more than one big feed at a time. All betrothals have taken place quietly a few weeks earlier at each family's own convenience. The Wedding Day is only the jollification which sets the seal of publicity on the existing private contract.

All the morning feasting is in progress at the bridegroom's house, attended by the menfolk of both families and by twelve of the bridegroom's tribal brothers who act as his "best men." In the early afternoon the bridegrooms and their guests all repair to "The Gate" of their village where every spare space is already packed with spectators. The women and children are collected roughly at one side, the men and boys at the other, but there is no taboo about this, and no offence is given if one or another happens to stray into or wishes to pass through a crowd of the other sex, nor was it thought odd or unseemly that I usually sat beside DL amongst the men.

585 292 Before we arrived, the tops of walls, the branches of the nearest trees, and all the adjacent roofs were packed (till we feared the slight rafters were bound to give). Everybody had turned out in their best and brightest clothes, our little boy and girl friends almost unrecognizable, their jolly little fringes soaked in oil and plastered down into most unwonted and unbecoming tidiness. The women and girls were very gay with bright-coloured scarves flung over their prettiest caps; poor ones might have only a piece of chintz or muslin, but by far the greater number sported lengths of Bukhara silk in daring blendings of bright green, yellow, red, blue, or purple. The general effect was delightful, and the bunches of womenfolk on the roofs would have needed colour photography to do them justice. Not to be wholly outdone, the men had coloured cotton shirts of marvellous hues and gay silken embroidery trimming their woollen *choga*s.

The Bérichó band, with big drum, pipe, and kettledrums,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would-be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants and one carrying the Hunza standard (rather a new invention this, I fancy). The standard is a large triangle of white with two pairs of horizontal red stripes, an open hand in red, and a bow and arrow in green: a handsome and effective national flag.

After the standards came the men of the Royal Family, including Hari Tam of three or four (but not the new baby), the younger members leading the way, and lastly Sir Muhammad Naźim Khán himself, mounted on his snow-white Badakhshani stalion. The horse wore a scarlet saddle-cloth heavily embroidered in gold, and from a broad gold collar round its neck there dangled a large "feather brush" of pure white yak's hair. The Mir, looking as always every inch a king, was robed in bright green velvet cloak with massive padded gold embroidery. He had on a fine silk turban of pale blue. All the people entitled to a place in the procession, from the Mir downwards, were wearing bunches of large-leafed maidenhair in their caps. Gathering this fern, which as far as we could learn grows only in one spot in Hunza near Altit, and collecting the willows for the "horses" provide exciting tasks for the boys for a day or two preceding the feast, while women of the Diramiting clan are busy baking the barley mill-stones and compounding the *chopan*.

Before the procession ultimately emerges many elaborate traditional ceremonies take place in the ancient rooms of the Fort, which is still used for these occasions though no longer inhabited. The detail and significance of these ceremonies (which we were not invited to witness) were fully investigated by DL and I shall not here anticipate his account of them.

The procession passed along the narrow track till it reached the Bopfau field, 6 feet or so above the path and supported by the usual revetting wall. The younger and more active scaled the wall, but for the Mir himself a ladder had been placed at an angle of 45 degrees, bridging the water-channel at the base of the wall, and I followed the royal lead up the ladder. The Mir then took his seat on a chair beneath which a carpet had been spread (chair and carpet being doubtless modern

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Buruho AV7

Then they grind the *mamotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirämiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gwa mojok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 *ɣaɣiq* — the songs are in Shina.

10 *šikumuts* — *niʔe* must be the genitive of *niʔ* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gurumi — originally written *gurumo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gurumi* — is here and on p. 303 l. 2 used as the plural of *gurumo*, 'bride-grooms'.

12 *ilz gumisolo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *murak'ow* — this is in front of the Fort at Bältit.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AVT Burusho AV7

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty-four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thama marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tesal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *tsuriše wle* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *šuštinaṭe šiap ne . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

moddat y period, space of time. — *ḍurt moddat nimi* a long time passed. 2.4. Ar. Prs. 000

moṛyoli Maulai sect. (Cp. Sh. *moṛyoli*. contemptuous term applied to the Maulais by the Shiahs, who say they themselves are Maulais).

mu'ulo ḍ'ovo N., pl. — *ḍovumoṛo*, tadpole, (*ḍovo* is perhaps connected with the Kho. *ḍovri*, Sh. *ḍḍvri*, *ḍovo*, ladle. Cp. the Hz. *khaṭgiyalt* tadpole, of which *giyalt* means ladle.

. Similarly the Yasin Kho. is *ai.i kṛpiwi*, "snake-spoon". The Sh. for tadpole is recorded as *manurkd'olo*, *manurko* being the word for frog, and *dolo* probably for *ḍovo*).

'mokhay in want, destitute. 372.10. Ar. Prs.

mu.i, mo.i; mu.imo, mo.imo, v. 1. *-i*, she herself. V, 16.19 note; her own 48.3. 68.1, 146.16.

mujoq, mujoq, -iciq, -iq y tassel (as of chogs), tuft of hair (at end of cow's tail). — *ḍuqs mujoqiciq* tapes with tassels attached to breast of chogs on either side, nominally for tying across chest. *gore mujoq* an ornament worn at weddings by both bride and groom. It is suspended at the side of the cheek and consists of a string on which is strung a piece of mother of pearl and below it a pearl (?) or piece of coral, beneath which the string ends in a tassel. Cp. 304.12. *iṣe ivumale mujoq bovum bila* the tassel of its (the calf's) tail is white. 166.8. 292

mujuw -iq y weeping-willow tree. *Am mujuwes bila* there is a weeping-willow tree. 12.18. *ḍibi mujuw eṛi bam* he had planted the musk weeping-willow. 18.9. 000

mals. IUB H. *watan, thairne ka jaga*; QUB *sakunat, retiqumat.* — *guyak ati* keep still, H. *qarar baitho*. QUB. *buume, girria, yake* (or, *yak atas*) *dzi* a markhor's, ibex's, lying-up place. *-yakal* direction of, towards, the part of, side (in game).

-yakal, *-yakalor*, *-yakalafs*, *-yakalafor* with verbs of motion } in the direction of towards, to. *guyakal horeyus ha* I am looking at you. 50.6. *tarq yakalafor yfor maiyarn* let us go back towards the palace, let us return to the palace. 8.3. *yakal* 50.6,13,14, 90.1, 94.10, 120.6, 144,3, 146.17. *yakalor* 174.21; *yakalafs* 154.22, 180.3. *yakalafor* 22.11, 32.4, 38.3,7, 39.7, 134.12 etc. *-yakaltaum*, *-yakalafum*, *-yakalaum* from the direction of; on the part of, on behalf of. *ayakaltaum uyor guyam* I gave it to you from myself. *badin yakaltaum warain* they going from the king. 24.10. *uq jaw guyakaltaum kaisaman ati* give me a token from ourself. 22.7. *badin yakalafum* on he part of the king. 34.14. Cp. 102.11. *dasin wayakalaus his jaraan* a relation on the part of (i.e. to represent) the bride. 202.16.

● [292] *yaktai.i*, *yartai.i*, *-maiq*, *-maiciq* y cotton slip worn by bridegroom over his dress. 200.6.

(So also in Sh. and Kho.). Pre. *yal*, *-yal*, *-maiq* N. pl. *-maiq*, *-maiqaq* y shadow, shade; protection, favour, patronage. — *uyo yalolo* in your shadow. *toom yalolo harwaf* sit in the shade of the tree. *daman yaltas* by the favour of one's master, by his blessing, IUB. H. *mahrbanise*. *damans yalolo* in the shade of, under

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

B.Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AVT Burnaby AVT
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, above, at his palace at 8,000 foot altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963

AV7 Burusho AV7

Hunza

[P42-C]

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[463]
[433]

CRAFTSMEN like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

the wording of the letter, Humayum turned his horse's head, and rode for his life. He reached the passes in safety, and going by Wakhan, entered Chitral, and claimed the hospitality of the Mehtar. This was gladly accorded him, for he was a valuable man in case of trouble with Hunza, and he remained in Chitral, an honoured guest, until his turn came later.

Once inside the fort we had only two sets of stairs to ascend, and they were not so primitive as in Nagar, though they were equally defensible. We were received by the Thum at the top, and seated on an open platform overlooking the village and valley. Safdar Ali Khan was a delicate-looking young man of about twenty-two, with shifty Mongolian eyes, and a chestnut-coloured small peaked beard and moustache. The face was a delicate oval in shape, and weak in expression. He was looking decidedly ill, and considerably pulled down by fever.

The surroundings were richer than in Nagar. A guard of fifteen men armed with breechloaders, English and Russian, surrounded the Chief; the courtiers were better dressed, and good Central Asian carpets were spread on the ground. The Thum himself was handsomely dressed in silks, and wore a beautiful velvet belt of Chinese workmanship, with clasps and bosses of gold studded with torquoise and coral. We stayed but a short time, paying a purely ceremonial visit. On my return to camp I found that the four men of my guard had been prevented from coming upstairs, and that an attempt had been made at stopping my orderlies also. I accordingly at once sent up to the Wazir, and protested against this, saying that I con-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-92) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

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MAHOMED NAZIM KHAN, CHIEF OF HUNZA.
WAZIR HUMAYUN, THE CHIEF MINISTER.

[facing p. 264]